EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON GURREST TOPICS-COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

No Backing Down.

From the N. Y. Times. The Southern Democrata will tolerate no attempt to explain away the meaning of the Seymour and Biair ticket. Mr. Buckalew's declaration in the Senate, that he "does not coincide with General Blair as to the necessity of overthrowing the Reconstruction laws," and Mr. Davis' belie', expressed in the same body, that "there will be no attempt to set up any other governments in the South than those organized," are made the texts of very stern lectures on the criminality of receding from the obvious intent of the party policy. The Richmond Examiner, speaking of "the courage required by the canvass," assails the apologetic tone in which the leading organs of the party, and its prominent members in Congress, discuss the issues raised by the New York Convention. "Already," says the Examiner, "we are not without indications that some of the recognized leaders of the party are terrified at the sound of their own bugleblast." Referring more particularly to speeches in the Senate, it remarks:-

"If this is the mode in which the platform is to be vindicated and defended, it would be better to noid another Convention, and call it Better strike a flag toan defend it in such in. Better strike a flag than defend it in such fashion. And if this is the kind of battle which the Democratic champions are to lead, they might as well abandon the field, for they are whipped already. The South, at least, mean something when they protest against negrosupremacy reconstruction as intolerable, and as eternal war and not peace."

The Southern wing of the party is in earnest, no doubt. Blair knew how to "fire the Southern heart," and he fired it; and the nomination was his reward. The Convention may not have intended all that its action signifies. It sacrificed something to buncombe and the wishes of the Southern delegates, and in the effort went further than any party can go without insuring defeat. The willy leaders are now trying to modify and moderate the import of the language employed, and to throw off the responsibility which the adoption of extreme views involves.

Against this cowardice and bad faith, the class represented by the Richmond Examiner indignantly protest. They bargained for a policy of revolution, and will not be put off with vague promises signifying nothing. They helped to nominate Seymour and Blair on a platform pledging the party to a forcible overthrow of the new Governments, and they will be content with nothing less.

In truth the enemies of reconstruction at the South helped to nominate the New York ticket, and propose to help to elect it, on the ground that it indicates an aggressive course. They have reunited their fortunes with those of the Democracy because the latter has issued a declaration of war against the work of Congress in all its parts. They demand the unconditional restoration of the Governments which Congress abolished, and the revival of the white supremacy which Congress abro-

Mr. Buckalew's remark explains how the Northern leaders propose to escape from the dilemma. Their plan is to fasten upon Blair exclusive responsibility for the opinions and purposes which convict the party as an organization hostile to law and order. But the trick will be unsuccessful. The Blair letter is an infamous and incendiary document, but it is not more so than the platform itself. The platform assails the Reconstruction acts "as usurpations, and unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void," and General Blair does no more. He merely pushes the avowal to its logical result, and insists that the duty of a Democratic President will be to pull down what the party, in convention assembled, condemns as "revolutionary and void." The odium which is heaped upon Blair, therefore, attaches to the Convention, and now also to President Johnson, who preaches the same

The impatience of the fire-eaters when Northern Democrats endeavor to divest the party policy of its revolutionary attributes, is not surprising. Neither wing occupies a pleas-ant position. The Northern managers are aware that no party can commit itself to a course involving civil war without incurring overwhelming defeat. The Southern leaders, again, know that unless the extreme view be adhered to without finching, "they might as well abandon the field, for they are whipped already." So the Richmond journalist says, and he ought to know.

The Great Issue of the Canvass-General Blair's Letter of Acceptance.

From the N. Y. World.

anarchical doctrine.

The Sun, with the success which commonly attends unasked advice, is fond of giving the Democratic party the benefit of its counsel, while reserving for the radicals its equally unfruitful good wishes. Advising the Democratic party is a perfectly innocent amusement, and we hope the Sun will never be worse employed, even though it constantly experiences the fate of Tam O'Shanter's faithful wife Kate:-

"It gars me greet, To think how mony counsels sweet, How mony lengthened, sage advices The husband from the wife despises.

We fear the Sun is getting discouraged and is about to give over its voluble good offices; and in the hope of averting such a calamity to the Democratic party, we take this occasion to explain why its tender solicitude for the success of the party has not, as yet, been better appreciated. In an article on General Blair's letter of acceptance, the Sun makes these remarks:-

General Biair is both right and wrong. He is right in announcing that "the issues upon which the contest turns are clear and cannot be obscured or distorted." and that they are those to which he gives prominence in his letter. But we take the liberty of assuring him that the Democracy committa fatal binnder in fighting their battle on this ground. It is the very mode their battle on this ground. It is the very mode of carrying out the contest which most gratifies the Republicans. They desire that the principles involved should be as nearly identical as possible with those that entered into the last Presidential campaign, when Mr. Lincoln carried every State except two. Proposals to overthrow the new Governments in the reconstructed States; to strip the freedmen of the ballot they now hold, to proclaim this to be exclusively a white man's Government, accompanied by vehement denunciations of General Grant as a candidate who "has announced his willingness" to maintain a nearpanounced his willingness" to maintain a nsurpa-tion over eight millions of write people at the South, "fixed to the earth by his bayonets," and as a "mailed warrior whose payonets are now at the throats of eight millions of people, to compel them to support him for the Presidency"—we say, this is presenting the issues of the campaign preciely in the shape in which the Republicans desire to meet them; for it is exactly here that they feel strong, while on some of the financial problems raised by Pen-dleton, and which Blair wholly ignores, they are weak, especially in the great States of the Northwest.

We have often announced that the road for Success to the Democratic party lay in the di-rection of ignoring those embarrassing topics relating to reconstruction.

The sum of these strictures is, that the course of the Democratic party is honest and straightforward, but inexpedient. The Democratic party, judging from a different stand-point, thinks that nothing is so politic or so respectable as sincerity and manilness. The as General Grant had his hand on the helm!

of the canvass, the Democratic party, without any dodging or any disguises, comes before country and places its opposition to it boldly in the foreground. The party does not propose to ignore the other issues, for some of them are of great importance; but it believes that the Presidential election will turn mainly on the people's approval or reprobation of the reconstruction policy of Congress. Old Thad. Stevens is the only man we have yet heard of who stands ready to subordinate the reconstruction question to the bond question. There are many Republicans who agree with Senator Morton that the fivetwenty bonds are payable in greenbacks; but they do not on that account intend to vote for the Democratic candidates. To convert people to the greenback theory does not necessarily bring them into the Democratic party. On other hand, there are many Democrats who hold that the five-twenty bonds are payable in gold, but not a man of them can be persuaded to vote the Republican ticket. Conversions to the gold theory will not therefore swell the ranks of the Republicans any more than conversions to the greenback theory will swell the ranks of the Democrats. Neither party is going to expend its chief efforts in preaching a doctrine which may gain converts without winning votes.

The great body of the people are willing

and anxious to have the public burdens lightened, except where their sense of economy is overborne by their political fanaticism. practicable curtailments of expenditure the greatest is the reduction of the army and navy and the abolition of the Freedmen's Bareauthe reduction, that is to say, of the expenses which are incurred for maintaining the supremacy of the negro race in the Southern States. Even the question of economy thus resolves itself into the question of Reconstruction, large retrenchments of the public expenses being impossible so long as the negro

policy is upheld. We suppose the Sun means to be candid. but an unconscious bias carries it wide of the mark when it represents this issue of Reconstruction as substantially identical with the questions on which the Presidential election turned in 1864. Diverse views on the proper mode of restoring the Union had been put forth within the year preceding that election, but none of them had the slightest influence on the canvass. The Republican caudidate for Vice-President was taken from an unrestored rebel State. President Lincoln had caused new State governments to be set up in Louisiana and Arkausas, and had refused to sign a reconstruction bill passed by Congress, although the bill was free from negro suffrage and the other extreme provisions of the present legislation. It was his opinion that Congress had no business to intermeddle with the subject, its sphere of action being confined to the simple admission or rejection of members presenting themselves from those States. The fact that Mr. Lincoln's views on this subject were no impediment to his election, is evidence that reconstruction was not an issue in that campaign. That in his opinion nothing on that subject was decided by the election, is proved by the last public speech he ever made-the

speech delivered from the balcony of the Presidential mansion on the evening of the illumination to celebrate the surrender of General Lee. That whole speech-a long ove for such an occasion-was taken up with a defense of his reconstruction of Louisiana on his own re-sponsibility. "Concede," said he, "that the new Government of Louisiana is only to what it should be as the egg is to the fowl, we shall sconer have the fowl by hatching the egg than by smashing it." The same reasoning would apply with greater force to the State governments organized under the auspices of President Johnson-governments formed in pursuance of Mr. Lincoln's well known policy, as was testified last year by General Grant and Secretary Stanton before a committee of Congress. We think we have made it clear enough that neither Mr. Lincoln nor anybody else supposed that anything was decided on the reconstruction question by the last Presidential election. The issue was not even presented;

how then could it have been decided? The truth is, that the present reconstruction policy of Congress has never been passed upon by the people at all. At the time of the last Congressional elections it had not been devised, and the people have had no opportunity to give a verdict upon it since. To be sure, there were State elections last year, and the powerful and sudden reaction against the Republican party in all the greater States where elections were held, evinced anything but a disposition to acquiesce in the new policy which the people had not yet had time to maturely consider. The people of the whole country will have their first opportunity to render their judgment on this tremendous innovation in the coming contest for the Presidency. It is absurd, it is contrary to the genius of our institutions, it is subversive of the fundamental principle of republican government, to consider any important policy as settled before the majority of the people have given it their sanction. Congress, even if oogress were not a fragmentary rump, has no power to bind the people against their own consent in a thing of such consequence. The genius of republican government forbids great changes without the sanction of a majority; and the genius of our Constitution requires that changes which are great and meant to be irreversible shall be approved not merely by a majority, but by three-fourths of the whole It is preposterous to regard a policy as settled and sacred, which the people have never yet approved, nor even had an opportunity to vote upon.

To the Considerate.

From the N. Y. Tribune. If there were no parties and no political divisions among our countrymen, and we were about to choose a President and Vice-President -the rival candidates being, as now, Ulysses S. Grant against Horatio Seymour for President, and Schuyler Colfax against Francis P. Blair, Jr., for Vice-President—can there be a rational doubt that Grant and Colfax would receive at least two-thirds of the votes? What States could with reason be counted on to vote against them? Who can name seven?

Now there are parties and political divisions; and these sway the votes of many people; but not of all. There are very many thousands who will vote with primary reference to the candidates-for that ticket which, on the whole, they deem composed of the fitter and more deserving men. Who doubts that these will tell

heavily for Grant and Colfax? Again:-Let us suppose the election were over, and Grant and Colfax duly elected beyond cavil. Is there living on this round earth one man who believes, or fears, or suspects, that there would be revolutionary violence or serious commotion in the land within the four years ensuing? Do not all men know that the people of the late Rebel States would all understand that they must obey the laws and eschew all manner of tumult and violence? Would not white and black live in peace and harmony throughout those four years? Would not those who are to-day hurrahing for Seymour and exulting over Frank Blair's Brodhead letter at once comprehend that they must behave themselves henceforth, at least so long

reconstruction question being in truth, as the | Do you not know that they would hasten forth-Sun concedes it to be, the capital issue with to Washington to say, "General Grant, there has been misapprehension and alienation between us, but we want to do the right thing and avoid trouble; what do you require of us?" Do you not know that General Grant would use all his influence to soothe, to reconcile, to heal? Who believes that there would be any disfranchised class, or any need of disfranchisement, two years after General Grant's inau uration? Most certainly, the blacks would be protected in the rights which the policy of Congress has secured them; but who can object to that? Who fears that, when all are enfranchised, the eight millions of whites in the South, constantly re-enforced by immigration, have anything to fear from the four millions of blacks ?

Now, look at the other side: -Suppose Seymour and Blair elected, what is to be done with the existing Governments of the reconstructed States, and the rights secured thereby? By what legal, peaceful process are they to be subverted? Who does not know that attempts to re-enslave, wholly or partially, emancipated races, have always resulted in fearful devastation and massacre Thus was San Domingo whelmed in blood and ashes; thus it has been and must be to the end of time. If the States lately in revolt were cut off from the Union and left to themselves to-morrow, the inevitable attempt of the late Rebels to establish what they call "a White Man's Government" would surely incite a new and terrible war? What could pre-

"Let us have peace." The work of recou struction is nearly complete. It has already been protracted beyond reason by factions, frenzied resistance. It is high time that all rights were secured, all fears dispelled, all parties disarmed. The country cannot afford to revive all the fends and perils of the last four years. We need assurance that we are near the end of our troubles, not about to renew them. There is no public security, there is scarcely any property, other than arms and munitions, that will not be worth more from the glad moment wherein the telegraph announces the certain election of Grant and Coltax.

Probabilities.

From the N. Y. Tribune. The Cincinnati Enquirer tries its hand at figuring out a safe majority for Seymour and Here is its list of States that it considers "probably safe" to count on:-

Connecticut 6 California Ocegon 33 Ocegon 
 New York
 33

 New Jersey
 7

 Delaware
 8

 Maryland
 7

 Kentucky
 11
 Missouri..... Total....

The Enquirer adds explanations, whereof these are specimens:—

"We carried Nevada at the last election, Indiana and Illinois are old Democratic States, which the war caused to swerve from their moorings." -"The War," which caused Indiana and

Illinois to "swerve from their moorings," was that waged by the Democratic party, through its leaders and representatives, on the rights of free labor in the Territories. They so "swerved" in 1854; and they went heavily for Lincoln in 1860. What "War" do you refer to? -We can't help asking the Enquirer's atten-

tion to a little circumstance which it seems to have overlooked. A gentleman well known to us, after looking on at the late Democratic National Convention, left \$10,000 at the St. Nicholas Hotel to bet on Grant and Colfax, as we mentioned ten days ago. And George Wilkes, in his Spirit, remarked that he had \$5000 or over to bet on the same side. We haven't yet heard of any one going after either of those amounts. If this implies that the Democratic blacklegs have all repented, burnt their sweat-cloths, and joined the church, we are heartily glad of it, and faintly hope that their change of heart is permanent. afraid, however, that it wouldn't stand the strain of a decided Democratic victory in the October elections.

Andrew Johnson Again in Danger-Impeachment from a New Quarter. From the N. Y. Herald.

The newly-admitted radical Representatives in Congress, known as the "carpet-baggers," from the reconstructed States, are, like all new converts and beginners, zealous to prove their professions of loyalty to their new church. They held a meeting the other evening in Washington, at which, after being warmed up by an encouraging speech from General Fre-mont, they resolved among other things that "in the threatening attitude assumed by President Johnson in his recent message vetoing the bill declaring which of the Southern States are not entitled to vote in the Electoral College," and in his declaration that "Congress has no more power to reject the votes of the Southern States that have not yet been reorganized than to reject the votes of States that have never been in rebellion," shows that he is "still the enemy of law and order and

threatens the peace and safety of every Union man in the South, rendering imminent another civil war," and that, therefore, he ought to be at once impeached, and that "the representatives and delegates from the Southern States, in conference assembled," etc., "pledge ourselves to use our utmost endeavors to pre vent the adjournment of Congress before his conviction and removal from office," and to prevent "a recess even till articles of impeachment are presented and a court of impeachment convened."

This movement is somewhat startling, coming as it does close upon the heels of our assurances from Washington that "Old Thad" had concluded to let his new impeachment articles go to the tomb of the Capulets. But these Southern "carpet-baggers" have new matter to work upon. The President has flatly given it as his opinion that hey are unconstitutional interlopers, and that the State Governments which they represent, set up under the Reconstruction laws of Congress, are bogus, null and void. No wonder, then, that these men should flaunt in his face the penalty of impeachment. Their case, too, is quite as good if not decidedly better than he case made out against said Johnson on Stanton's peremptory removal from office. Nor, if this threatened new impeachment were brought before the Senate, would there be any apparent chance for Johnson's escape with the addition to the High Court of fourteen Southern radical and intensely anti-Johnson Senators. The always ready and universal lobby man, Thurlow Weed, with his Astor House consultations, could do nothing against this formidable reinforcement of "car pet-baggers," and Johnson would have to walk the plank. But we guess that the impeachers of the House of Representatives have had enough of these impeachment trials to last them to the end of Johnson's term of office, and that they will be satisfied in providing the ways and means and in adopting the necessary precautions to hold him in check till after the Presidential elections. Then there is no telling or calculating what may happen. The impeachers now have "the man at the other end of the

avenue" completely in their power, but they have other matters now to be looked after

nearer home in connection with the coming

October and November elections for the next

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